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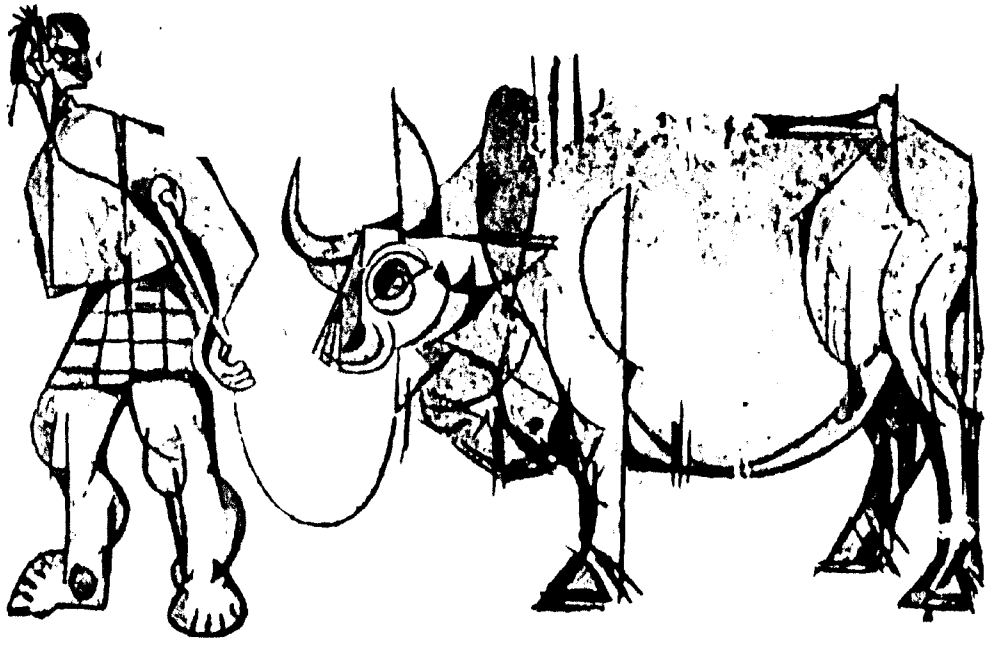

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Halil Copur

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LOCAL ORGANIZATION DIMENSIONS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION, ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PARTICIPATION, AND ATTITUDINAL MODERNITY

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT: AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

The data for this study on rural organization, participation and development were collected in Turkey. Therefore, the findings and generalizations are, first of all, applicable to this particular country. The intention, however, is not solely to study the dimensions and underlying principles of Turkish agrarian development, but rather to treat this case as an example of a less-developed nation facing the concrete problem of overcoming rural backwardness. Our general findings and suggestions are relevant to the rural development of other Third World countries, not only because most of these nations face similar problems internally and in their relations with more developed states,[1] but also because understanding the variables dealt with here is vital to eliminating rural backwardness and poverty.

An overview of the Turkish case, with specific reference to agrarian conditions, is needed by way of introduction. Turkey has long been described as a land of contrasts. The Republic is surrounded on three sides by the Mediterranean, Aegean and Black Seas. Environmental conditions vary radically,

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[1] See Irving L. Horowitz, Three Worlds of Development, New York, Oxford University Press, 1972.

from humid subtropical valleys in the southern and western coasts, to cool and dry steppes in central Anatolia; from rainy highlands in the eastern mountains, to the small deserts in the southeastern and middle mainland.

Turkey's government was a single party system from the founding of the Republic in 1923 until 1946, when it became a multiparty polity. However, efforts to integrate the rural majority into the political processes were stalled until the early fifties.[2] Modernization efforts had started in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Largely conceived in terms of westernization and industrialization, these attempts culminated in rapid and sweeping reforms at the beginning of the Republican era under the heroic leadership of Kemal Ataturk.[3] All national forces were put in motion to develop a modern, secular Republic from the ruins of the Islamic empire. This modernization drive entailed extensive legal and administrative reforms, which were mostly successful.

Economic development, however, did not fare so well.[4] Although commerce and industry were reorganized and revitalized,

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[2]Serif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics," Daedalus, Winter 1973, pp. 169-190; Frederick W. Frey, The Turkish Political Elite, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1965; Douglas E. Ashford, Local Government and Agricultural Development in Turkey, Cornell Rural Development Committee, 1974.

[3]For a general account, see Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, Montreal, McGill University Press, 1964; Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, London, Oxford University Press, 1968; and Robert Ward and Dankwart Rustow, eds., Political Modernization of Turkey and Japan, Princeton University Press, 1964.

[4]For an account of economic progress in the early Republic see A.Y. Herschlag, Turkey: An Economy in Transition, The Hague Van Keulen, 1958.

transformation of agriculture, much needed to integrate agrarian communities into the national economy, lagged very seriously behind. Despite gains in the industrial, commercial and service sectors, Turkey's economy still remains predominantly agricultural, with three-quarters of employment generated there.[5] Almost all exports are agricultural produce. While the share of gross national product from industry has been growing (not as fast as desired or planned, but steadily--from 17.4 percent in 1962 to 23.6 percent in 1972), output from the agricultural sector has declined from 34 percent to approximately one-fourth of the gross national product in the same period.[6] The fall in rural population, however, is slower than the rate of decline in the GNP share of agriculture. This stagnation, along with the relative sluggishness of agricultural productivity, has slowed overall economic growth. Between 1950 and 1966, the average increase in GNP was around 4.7 percent. However, with population growing annually by about 2.8 percent,[7] the increase in per capita income was only 1.9 percent per year between 1950 and 1973.[8]

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[5]An estimated 77.7 percent of employment was located in the agricultural sector in 1962. See Second Five Year Plan, 1968-1972, Ankara, State Planning Organization, p. 143.

[6]Sayilarla Turkiye (Turkey: A Numerical Account), Basbakanlik Toprak ve Tarim Reformy Mustesarligi, DIE Matbaasi, Ankara, p. 76.

[7]Baran Tuncer, Nufus Artisi ve Turkiye Ekonomisi (Population Growth and Turkish Economy), Ankara, Dogus Matbaasi, 1968, p. 11.

[8]Population grew from around 24 million in 1955 to a little less than 36 million in 1970. Sayilaria Turkiye, p. 103.

Per capita income in Turkey in 1978 was 1210 U.S. dollars, lowest among all nations in the European Economic Community,[9] and among all nations, it ranked fiftieth, not much above the median for all countries, rich and poor.[10] This relatively low average is more serious in terms of welfare for the population when one considers that the distribution of income in Turkey is quite skewed and leaves more than three-quarters of the population below the arithmetic mean.

As seen in Table 1, only ten percent of the total income accrues to forty percent of the families in the lowest income groups, while the top 20 percent of families receive three-fifths of all income.

TABLE 1

INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN TURKEY (1968)

Income Groups		Share in the Total Income[11]
Lowest income	20%	3.0%
Low	20%	7.0%
Middle	20%	10.0%
High	20%	20.0%
Highest	20%	60.0%

This lopsidedness in income distribution is due partly to the rather lethargic development of the agricultural sector, where

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[9] 1979 World Bank Atlas, Washington: IBRD, 1979, p. 16.

[10] Ibid. p. 6.

[11] Korkut Boratav, Gelir Dagilimi (Income Distribution), Istanbul, Gercek Yayinevi, 1972, p. 194.

most of the lowest income groups are employed, and partly to the extremely uneven distribution of incomes within that sector. Overall growth of agricultural output has hardly kept step with population growth; thus it has been necessary to import considerable amounts of cereals, especially in years of adverse weather conditons. Table 2 shows the growth in the production of cereals, which are the staple foods in much of Turkey.

TABLE 2

PRODUCTION OF CEREALS: 1940 to 1973

Years	Production (000 tons)
1940	8,280
1945	4,013
1950	7,763
1955	12,433
1960	15,215
1965	14,670
1970	15,882
1973	15,603

Sources: 1940-60 -- Sayilarla Turkiye, p. 29; 1970 -- Tarim Istatistikleri Ozeti (Summary of Agricultural Statistics), Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1971, p. 9; 1973 -- Economic and Social Indicators--Turkey, USAID, Ankara, August 1974, p. 22.

These increases in agricultural output, however slow and unsatisfactory, have been the result of extension of cultivated land, growth of manpower employed in agriculture, increased use of artificial fertilizers, shifting of agricultural methods

from dry to irrigated farming and increases in the use of tractors in cultivation, as seen in table 3.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF TRACTORS AND PERCENTAGE OF LAND CULTIVATED WITH TRACTORS (1940-1972)

Year	Number of of Tractors	% of Land Cultivated with Tractors
1940	1,066	1
1945	1,156	1
1950	16,585	9
1955	40,282	14
1960	42,136	14
1965	54,668	17
1970	105,865	33
1972	135,726	40

Source: Turkiye Istatistik Yilligi, 1973, p. 188.

These changes in agriculture represent impressive developments. However, one must keep in mind the extremely backward nature of agriculture previously, which makes even small improvements look comparatively significant. Turkish agriculture is still characterized by extremely low productivity and high dependence on favorable weather. Aktan points out that the plant crop productivity of Turkish agriculture is much lower than the average for all continents,[11] and Cillov finds a fourfold

[11] Resat Aktan, "Basic Characteristics of Turkish Agriculture and Problems of Productivity," Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, 1969-70, Ankara, Faculty of Political Science, 1971, p. 73.

variation in Anatolian wheat production depending on rainfall.[12] Perhaps the most striking feature of Turkish agriculture is the great differences in rural income based on an unequal distribution of land as shown in Table 4. The conclusion to be drawn about Turkish agriculture is that much greater efforts are needed to raise productivity, to boost total production and to achieve more equitable distribution of rural incomes. Without such changes, the development of the whole country will be held back.

TABLE 4

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN TURKEY

Tenure Groups	Number of Families	% of Families	Total Land (hectares)	% of Land
Landless	479,721	17.5	0	0
Under 3 hectares	1,329,972	48.2	2,027,185	17.3
3-17.5 hectares	1,350,280	32.6	6,427,705	54.4
17.5-120 hectares	54,179	1.7	3,126,986	28.3

Source: Condensed from Tuncer Bulutay et al., Turkiye de Gelir Dagilimi 1968 (Income Distribution in Turkey), Anakara, Sevinc, Matbaasi, 1971, p. 24. Land measured in dönums (1 dönum - approximately 0.1 hectare).

[12] Haluk Cillov, Turkiye Ekonomisi (Economy of Turkey), Istanbul, 1962, p. 181.

Chapter II

VILLAGE SOCIOECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

We view the distribution of ownership and control over productive resources as the most significant feature of the social and economic organization of Turkish villages. We do not, however, intend to underestimate the importance of other characteristics, such as family, religion, or social norms in patterning village social relationships. We have selected resource distribution for primary attention instead of these other variables because production and distribution of goods and services represent the foundation of agrarian development efforts. The structure of resource distribution (i.e., who owns and controls what factors of production) is a primary determinant of distribution patterns (who gets how much of outputs), as well as of economic and social relations. Because resource distribution plays a predominant role in shaping village communities, including the structure of power relations, the pattern of ownership and control of scarce factors of production is our focus here.

For a long time, sociologists neglected to observe and study rural socioeconomic stratification. They concluded there was relatively less stratification in "folk" communities as compared to "urban" societies. Yet however small one thinks these inequalities are, they do exist in rural communities and

the data cited in Chapter I on land distribution bear this out. An analysis of rural income distribution in 1968 showed the lowest 10 percent of all farm families to have a net income per family of only 167 Turkish lira, in contrast to an average of 8,764 lira for the highest 10 percent.[13]

All villages are not stratified to the same degree, it should be said. They range along a continuum from less to more hierarchical. Three major types of villages can be identified:

1. Villages where all land and most other resources belong to a single person or family.[14] In such extremely stratified communities, there are very few freeholders, since most villagers are sharecroppers, tenant farmers, agricultural workers, or a combination of these.

2. In mixed villages there may also be one or more big land owners, and a large number of sharecroppers, tenant farmers and landless agricultural workers but there are also freeholders of land and other resources. The sharecroppers and tenant farmers of such villages may themselves own a small piece of land, but augment their income by working on the fields of other people. The degree of stratification varies with the

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[13] See Bulantay et al. op. cit., p. 94. The incomes by decile were as follow (in Turkish lira); 167, 239, 366, 516, 690, 902, 1,145, 2,275 and 8,764.

[14] Cevat Geray in Planli Donemde Koye Yonelik Calismalar (Village Studies in the Planned Period), Ankara, 1964, p. 21, reports that the number of such "feudal" villages is 750. Our findings, based on a different sampling scheme, indicate the existence of close to 700 such communities out of 35,000 Turkish villages.

proportion of land and other resources owned and controlled by the big landowners. As this ratio grows, the resources left to the rest of the villagers decline. Among such villages in Turkey there is thus some variation in the degree of hierarchy in the socioeconomic organization.

3. In some peasant communities, villagers own or otherwise control all resources more or less equally. Both large landowners and landless peasants are essentially absent. The ratio of sharecroppers and tenant farmers is very low, and the most common tenure type is the individual freeholder farm family. The socioeconomic structure of these villages is rather unstratified, approaching non-hierarchical organization.

The degree of stratification of the village's socioeconomic organization and the extent to which economic resources are distributed unequally may be conceived of as independent variables. These presumably affect the community's level of development, as indicated by the material quality of life in the village. The relationship between stratification and development, however, must be examined empirically. Are better-off villages less stratified than less economically developed villages? If so, does a hierarchical social structure work to the benefit or the detriment of the villages in their efforts to improve the quality of life? These questions will be addressed with data gathered from a cross-section of the Turkish rural sector.

A. Stratification and Exchange Systems

Stratification of village society results from the concentration of resources used in agro-economic activities. Where most fertile land is owned by a single person or a family, the other families depend on this person to earn a living. As sole controller of the use of land the dominant landlord may dictate tenure arrangements and exercise economic power over the village. Concentration of resources thus created a sharply hierarchic and monolithic power structure in the village.[15] Williams calls these high dominance systems;[16] this term reflects the power holder's hegemony over local decisions, interactions and exchanges.

At the other end of the stratification scale are those villages where valued economic inputs are spread much more widely among the peasants. In such communities only a small fraction of the villagers depend, partially or completely, on resources owned or controlled by others. The relative absence of dependency leads to diffusion of power: no small group exercises hegemonic dominance over the rest.

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[15] See R. L. Kahn, "Introduction" in Power and Conflict in Organizations, by R. L. Kahn and E. Boulding, eds., New York, Basic Books, 1974; R. D. Jessup "Exchange and Power in Structural Analysis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, 1969, pp. 415-37; E. A. Wilkening, "Toward Refinement of the Resource Theory of Family Power," Sociological Focus, Vol. 2, 1968, pp. 1-20; W. A. Gamson, Power and Discontent, Homewood, Illinois, Dorsey, 1968.

[16] L. K. Williams, "Some Social-Psychological Correlates of Systems with Dominance," in Dominacion y Cambios en el Peru rural, W. R. Whyte et al., Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1969.

The effects of the distribution of resources on the local power structure can best be understood by examining village exchange systems. Exchange of resources is a pervasive fact of rural society, for villagers must give their labor and agricultural outputs to acquire land, credit, use of water, utilization of farm machinery and animals, and money for any or all of these. Regardless of the things exchanged, these transactions can be categorized according to the distribution of benefits or outcomes for those involved. We will consider three different types of exchange systems: positive, negative, and joint-payoff.[17]

Positive exchange is distinguished by reciprocity and balance. Both parties derive equitable benefits as a result. Such transactions tend to create an atmosphere of mutual help and solidarity in which other types of developmentally more functional relationships can exist. They can also promote better allocation and use of village resources, by maintaining channels through which scarce goods and services can flow back and forth among villagers, each of whom gets only a little more, but not less, than he puts into the system. In this type of exchange system, transactions tend to be diffused, with no monopolies of exchange. The balanced nature and wider scope of positive exchange systems provide villagers with many

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[17] A preliminary statement on this theoretical categorization appeared in William F. Whyte, Organizational Behavior: Theory and Application. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, and Dorsey Press, 1969. See pages 147-170.

opportunities to engage in transactional relationships with one another.

Nevertheless, this form of exchange can make only a limited contribution to development because it must work within the given resource constraints of the village. It does not expand the resource inventory needed for creation of higher incomes and living standards. Whatever exists in the village merely changes hands.

If one or a few farmers control most resources, the village cannot maintain a network of positive exchange. Powerful farmers tilt the terms of exchange to their own benefit, unbalancing the transactions. Only in low-dominance villages, where the average farmer is not dependent upon another's resources, can positive exchange be the predominant mode of transaction. Otherwise the majority of villagers' inability to reciprocate precludes its existence. The greater the stratification in the village, therefore, the less will be the developmental effects of positive exchanges. We may conclude that stratified socioeconomic structures block local development, while less stratified structures may contribute modestly to development. The latter lead to a more widespread type of exchange relationships, where transactions work for the benefit, however limited, of all; the former preclude this possibility.

In stratified villages, exchange relationships tend to be negative rather than positive. Negative exchange operates when the transaction is unbalanced and one party suffers actual

or opportunity losses, while the other party benefits. Although the losing party may wish to correct or terminate the relationship, he cannot do so without risking or actually suffering heavier losses. Differences in power are the key to the continuation of negative exchange systems. If the dominant party lacks the power to extract disproportionate resources, or if the losing party has other alternative relationships, the system will break down.

Such systems of unbalanced transactions in rural life have been around for a long time, often termed as patron-client relationships. The patron, or his agents, and the client personally engage in an exchange process. Legally binding contracts specifying the terms of the transaction are usually absent, and various forms of coercion are often used ot insure the client's acceptance of the terms the patron dictates. Negative exchanges are likely when one or a few wealthy persons command most resources in the village. In such a case, most farmers depend upon the rich person for land, access to which is obtained by renting or working as sharecroppers or agricultural workers. They may need to borrow funds from wealthy persons to obtain agricultural inputs or for personal and family use. Farmers may also require facilities, equipment and other services controlled by the wealthy minority for production, processing or sale of their produce. To use these resources they must give large amounts of labor, money, produce or sometimes whatever land they have.

In highly stratified villages the peasants have little bargaining power and few alternatives to dependency and

negative exchange. Most land is owned by a few landowners and no more new land can be brought under cultivation without taking heavy risks (purposeful deforestation, for instance) or paying prohibitive costs. Banks and credit cooperatives do not provide a viable alternative to borrowing from local elites, because the small farmer tends not to have adequate assets to meet mortgage requirements of legal financial institutions.[18] The central and provincial governments also face immense difficulties in providing production, marketing and consumption services to the very widely scattered and numerous settlements.[19] This forces villagers in stratified communities to depend on the facilities and services of the local rural elite.

This lack of alternatives leads to the involuntary acceptance of negative exchange, which is invariably disadvantageous for the majority of individuals. The already improverished rural farmers expend their energy to fulfill the very heavy demands of the transactional relations that bind them. Sharecroppers return more than half of their harvest to the landowner; a loan from a local money-lender must be paid with interest almost equalling the money borrowed; poor peasants sell their produce to the wealthy for much less than the

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[18] In 1971 there were 2,035 such cooperatives in Turkish villages. For details see Sayilarla Turkiye, p. 84.

[19] The majority of state expenditure in Turkish villages is directed to providing physical, as opposed to social, infrastructure to the village communities. Feeder roads and water supply get the lion's share of the State's direct contribution to village development efforts. See Kirsal Turkiyenin Yapisi, pp. 183-4.

market price because the elite is the sole owner of available transportation or processing. In highly stratified villages where agro-economic activities yield a stable amount of wealth, negative exchanges lead to actual losses for the majority of the villagers, who must pay exorbitant prices for resources owned and controlled by the well-off. Even in villages where total wealth is growing, the small and poor farmers incur opportunity losses, since they would have been better off had they not engaged in negative exchanges.

Rural stratification, by creating negative exchange networks, interferes with development by limiting increases in agricultural production, both by individual farmers and cooperative local organizations. Moreover, even if total village production is increased through infusions of capital and technology, stratification will deny the majority a fair share of the newly created income. Following recent thinking on development, which stresses equity and basic human needs, such villages cannot be considered "developed."[20]

In contrast to positive and negative exchange, joint-payoff relationships are established when two or more individuals agree to combine their resources and efforts to gain resources from the environment. This enlarges the resource pool available to participants. Each party in joint-payoff exchanges is entitled to use the combined resources of all participants, plus whatever can be converted to utilizable

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[20] Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development," International Development Review, December, 1969.

resources from the larger initial pool. The productivity of the resources each participant commits is greater than if the individual acted alone. Joint-payoff relationships are based on the perceived equality in distribution of rewards and benefits drawn from the environment. This does not necessitate, in principle, absolute equality in the distribution of payoffs. In order for such relationships to continue, each participant must extract a share of the payoffs proportional to the resources he committed to the system.[21] When a participant thinks he is getting less from the relationships than those who contributed about the same to the enterprise, or when he thinks he is harvesting much less than another participant who has committed more resources, he is likely to want to sever his relationship with the other participant(s).

Joint-payoff relationships are different from positive exchanges in that they extract larger rewards from the environment by better use of the combined factors of production. The emphasis is on cooperative and collective exploitation of the environment with shared resources, while positive exchange involves enhancement of individual income without cooperative activity.

Joint-payoff relationships differ from negative exchanges, since the latter are based on the involuntary consent of one party. The former are grounded in the voluntary initiation of

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[21] George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, New York, Harcourt, 1961; James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations, New York, John Wiley, 1971, Chapter 4; William F. Whyte, op. cit.

the relationship, as well as voluntary acceptance of who is going to commit how much of the resources and how big the share of each will be. In short, the basis of joint payoffs is equality and that of negative exchange is inequality.

Developmentally, joint-payoffs are more effective for villagers than positive exchanges and are obviously more functional than negative exchanges. A group of poor farmers pooling their resources can activate more frequent positive exchanges among its members; but more important, the farmers can develop more resources in their environment, the rewards from which can be beneficial to all. This means that people who do not individually command significant resources can avoid or reduce dependency on those who do. The latter cannot monopolize the outputs by exerting unchallenged power to shape distributive decisions in their favor. Hence, joint-payoff networks tend to threaten and weaken the high-dominance organization of the village by altering the nature of the exchange system toward more egalitarian, less hierarchical and less stratified forms, in which more people can enjoy more of the benefits.

The developmental role of joint-payoff networks is not limited to situations where their operation leads to the dilution, and perhaps eventual elimination, of negative exchanges. Even in villages marked by positive exchanges, the introduction of joint-payoff projects can add considerably to the general welfare. Villagers pool their resources instead of just exchanging them.

B. Joint-Payoff Organizations

Certain sociocultural and legal factors may facilitate cooperative undertaking of joint-payoff exchange projects in Turkish villages. Some resources were traditionally communally-owned before extensive monetization of the village economy. Communal ownership is not restricted to land but may extend to services. Very old traditions support initiation of and involvement in cooperative projects. Most important is salma, whereby villagers pool their financial resources, each according to his wealth and with an upper limit to individual contributions, to undertake a task or project that is beyond the financial capabilities of any single villager. Imece is another way for villagers to pool their resources for cooperative undertakings. It is different from salma because it usually involves contributions of manpower, services, machinery, etc., rather than cash.

In villages where these traditions are strong, villagers undertake community projects and enterprises such as constructing irrigation networks, schools and feeder roads; bringing in electricity and potable water; and employing and paying for service personnel who protect village property or work in the village cooperative.

Village-level cooperative undertakings are legally sanctioned. Turkish Village Law appoints the Village Council of Elders which, with the village headman, constitutes the administrative body of the village, to encourage and administer imece and salma. The same law mentions a long list of tasks which villagers should take on cooperatively. But in villages

where organizational tendencies are weak and the social structure is not amenable to joint-payoff relationships, the law is simply ignored or not administered.

Joint-payoff projects can also take the form of more formal and permanent enterprises. One of the most widespread is the village-level cooperative. There are more than 8,000 such economic associations in Turkish villages, functioning as producers', consumers' or credit cooperatives. These, as well as other types of participative associations, can and do contribute to the incomes of the village, as long as they are not dominated by a local elite who monopolize the benefits of these grass-roots organizations. Such domination is more likely to occur in highly stratified villages, where the power of the people at the top is relatively unchallenged.

This set of relationships is what we need to examine empiracally. Fortunately, there are possibilities for drawing on data which can help to test and refine our understanding of such relationships. The design of such a study is described briefly in the next chapter, with more detialed information on questions asked and data gathered provided in an Appendix (pages 72 - 77). The chapter also presents in summary form the findings from this study. These findings are elaborated in the two succeeding chapters. The study was built around a series of hypotheses, or propositions, about the relationships among socio-economic stratification, technology, orientations to group action, modernization attitudes and achieved welfare. The study sheds light on this complex of structural, physical,

attitudinal and organizational factors as they bear on community capacity and performance for rural development.

Chapter III

STUDY DESIGN AND FINDINGS

This study undertook to analyze a combination of objective conditions and changes in Turkish villages and of orientations among the villagers themselves, toward organized development efforts, toward education, toward equality/inequality, toward the future, and so forth. The data used were collected by the Turkish State Planning Organization and USAID/Turkey, with Frederick Frey of MIT (now University of Pennsylvania) as principal investigator. The Turkish State Institute of Statistics and the Ministry of Education participated in the project during various phases.

Approximately 7,000 villagers were randomly selected for interview in 458 villages. In addition to interviews with the villagers, members of the village elite (village headman, religious leaders and their wives) were interviewed in another form. Such use of "key informants" provided additional and cross-checking information to supplement that of villagers themselves. In addition, an information sheet on every village in the sample was completed by the leader of each survey team. This provided specific information on locational factors like distance to road, to a body of water or forest, on adoption to date of agricultural technology in the form of machinery,

and on the educational situation -- whether there was a primary school in the village and whether there was a teacher working there.

Information on the distribution of land and wealth could not be collected directly. The time required to so survey 458 villages would have been very great, and the resulting information probably unreliable anyway. Since data were not needed on individual wealth and landholding, in order to compare degrees of concentration or dispersion of assets in the respective villages, asking respondents about the number of wealthy persons in the village and the percent of farmers owning their own land provided sufficient consensus on each village to classify it as explained in the next chapter.

Similarly, organizational activity could not be studied directly, as this would have required extended participant-observation. But a series of questions (page 72 in Appendix) provided information of people's expectations of participation in activities like roadbuilding, improving drinking water supply, school construction, cooperative organization, and housing. For each of the major variables studied in this project, a scale or index was constructed based on a number of kinds of data, so that no single response determined the classification of a village. All of these matters are discussed in the Appendix.

* * * * *

Before discussing our findings in detail, let us summarize them so that the reader can have an overview of the variables

involved and the relationships established from analysis of the data.

1. Organizational Tendencies and Village Development

a. The strength of organizational tendencies is positively correlated with the level of village development.

b. This correlation remains relatively unaffected by the changes in the other variables.

2. Socioeconomic Organization and Village Development

a. Equality in the distribution of wealth is positively correlated with village development in all rural communities.

b. The positive correlation between equality of wealth distribution and village development is higher in villages:

i. with high organizational tendencies;

ii. with high technological development;

iii. with equal land distribution;

iv. with equal land distribution and strong organizational tendencies (i + iii).

c. There is little or no direct positive relationship found between equality of land distribution and level of village development by themselves. There is a positive correlation between equality in land distribution and village development however when:

i. organizational tendencies in the village are strong;

ii. wealth distribution is equitable; or

iii. both the organizational tendencies and equality in wealth distribution are high (i + ii).

3. Technological Development and Village Development

a. In general, variations in village development are not directly and positively related to improvements in agricultural technology. These two variables are positively correlated only when:

i. organizational tendencies are high;

ii. equity in wealth distribuiton is high;

iii. equity in land distribution is high;

iv. organizational tendencies are high and wealth distribution is equitable (i + ii).

b. When conditions (i) through (iv) are reversed, the relationship between level of agricultural technology and the level of village development is also reversed or reduced to near zero.

4. Attitudinal Modernity

a. In general, there is no relationship between the degree of fatalism in the village and the degree of village development.

b. There is on the other hand, a positive relationship between the degree to which the community consists of individuals who express feelings of personal efficacy and the level of village development when the following conditions prevail:

i. organizational tendencies are high;

ii. land distribution is equitable;

iii. wealth distribution is equitable.

c. When conditions (i) through (iii) are reversed, the relationship between feelings of personal efficacy and village development is reduced to near zero.

5. Education and Village Development

a. There is a positive relationship between level of education (literacy and schooling) and village development; however, the direction of this relationship is altered by the village's socioeconomic structure and the level of organizational tendencies.

b. A positive relationship between the level of education and village development only occurs where

i. organizational tendencies are high

ii. land distribution is equitable.

c. When the conditions (i) and (ii) are reversed, the relationship between the level of education and the village's level of development is also reversed to near zero.

These are, as said, summaries of the conclusions which village data supported. They are stated in their most simplified and direct form to orient the reader to the more involved discussion which follows. The systematic way in which they were developed and tested could be replicated elsewhere. The conclusions, to the extent they have general applicability, have great significance for efforts to promote rural development.

Chapter IV

VARIABLES IN LOCAL-LEVEL RURAL DEVELOPMENT

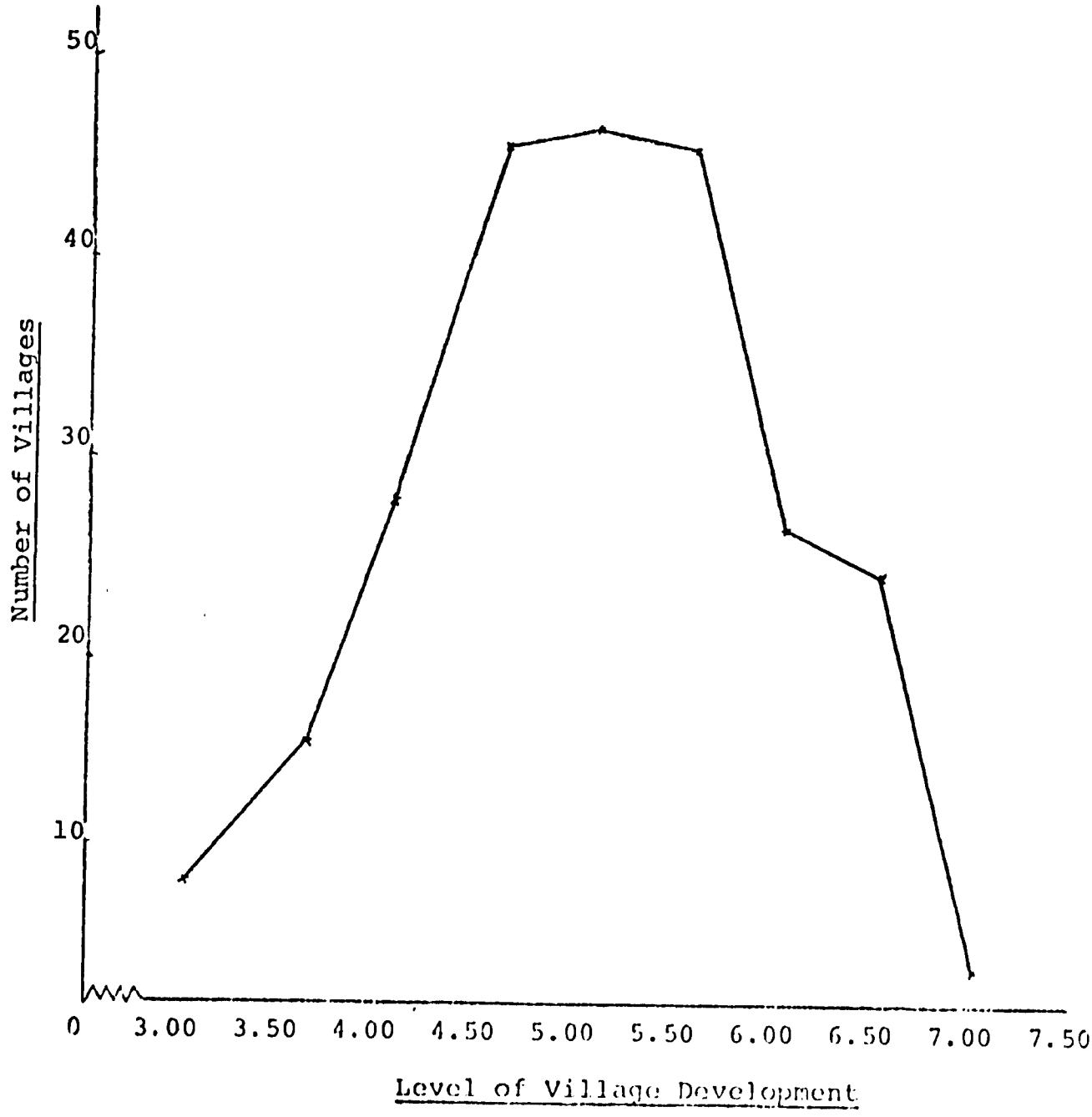
A. Variance in Village Development

We measured village development in terms of the "quality of life": adequacy of food, fuel, clothing and health on a scale which reveals the general features of the communities we studied. Details of the questions used are given in the Appendix (page 72-77). The possible range of village development was from 1 to 8; the actual distribution ranged from 3 to 7.24, with a mean of 5.27 and a median of 5.33. This indicates that extreme poverty, where all community members suffered from lack of basic survival requirements and had bad health, did not exist. Neither was there any community where everyone had adequate supplies of food, fuel and clothing and was in good health. Within these boundaries there was wide dispersion in the level of development; a distribution whose mean and median indicate only moderate fulfillment of basic survival requirements and less than good health conditions. (See Diagram 1). Villages were grouped under the categories of "less developed," "moderately developed," and "developed," which yielded 74 less developed villages, an equal number of moderately developed communities and 75 developed villages.

The seriousness of this situation becomes more apparent when the distributional characteristics of village development

Figure 1

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT DISTRIBUTION



are generalized to all 35,000 Turkish villages. One-third can be described as less developed, where a large majority of people live with shortages of food, fuel and clothing and have bad health. Another one-third of the villagers are moderately developed and have large proportions of people living under such conditions of poverty. And finally one-third of the villages, although relatively developed, still have a minority of their populace who suffer from lack of essential materials and have less than good health.

B. Locational Factors

To explain village development the first factor of interest is the village's proximity to transportation networks. There are arguments both for and against the developmental impact of accessibility. On the one hand, ease in transportation can mean convenience in bringing in needed services and agricultural inputs, while facilitating the marketing of whatever saleable goods may be produced in the villages. On the other hand, ease of access may mean nothing more than an added motivation for initiating exploitative contracts and exchanges. If the easy accessibility of the village means continual convenient exploitation of the villagers, it certainly does not facilitate development.

Analysis of our data shows no clear relationship between favorable location with regard to transportation networks and level of village development. Seventy-six percent of the villages surveyed were not located on a road of good standard or better; of these villages, eight percent were developed and

56 percent were underdeveloped. Of the villages on a hard-surface or a good quality loose-surface road, 33 percent were in the developed category and 34 percent were in the less developed category. Moreover, among the villages that were not on a good standard road, the distance of the village from such transportation branches was not related to the village's level of development. We found the same lack of relationship between the distance from the nearest railroad station and the village's level of development.

Furthermore, because roads closed temporarily due to adverse weather conditions, 85 percent of the villages reported difficulty of access to other villages, nearby towns or provincial centers. But the duration of such difficult periods, which ranged from zero to more than six months, was not related to the level of development.

All of these findings indicate that the location, favorable or unfavorable, of the village with respect to transportation networks does not play any decisive role in the betterment of village living conditions. There may be situations where being on or close to channels of dependable transportation could be functional for development, but without specifying and verifying these situations, nothing can be assumed about this relationship.

C. Market Effects

One argument often made about village location is that easy and continual accessibility facilitates market integration. By market integration is meant movement away from a self-sufficient village economy (when such is the case) to an

economy where goods are produced for exchange or money in both the village market and in markets outside the village. Becoming an integral part of the market system, however, is not always clearly beneficial. Weak, unorganized village economies will perform miserably when placed in economic fields where competitors are much stronger, more effective and efficient. In this case, increase in market integration can conceivably work to the detriment of both the village economy and the villagers.

To investigate the possible relationship between market participation and the level of village development, we broke down the scale of village development according to the presence or absence of a market and the degree of participation in this kind of exchange. Fewer than half of the villages had a market or were located near one. Among these villages, the relationship between the extent of regular market participation and village development was very small (Gamma correlation = .05).* The mean level of market attendance was approximately half of the villagers, suggesting that the presence of a market did not automatically integrate the whole village economy into the money nexus.

A functional relationship between market accessibility and development is possible only when the village economy is as well-organized and efficient as other village or external economies. There is no guarantee that village entry into

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*All correlation coefficients cited unless otherwise specified are Gamma correlations.

money-exchange markets, which could expose villagers to exploitation and competition with much better-organized and efficient forces, will not be detrimental to already impoverished rural economies.

D. Ecological Factors

According to determinist arguments, the village economic system depends very largely on the exploitation of the micro-environment. The quality and richness of this bounded environment, as well as the ease with which resources can be extracted and used, is very influential in determining the living standards of the village. Thus, factors like proximity to bodies of water, favorable topographical situations and nearness to forests are said to make a great deal of difference in the level of development.

Our findings suggest that there is some association between favorable ecological conditions and village standards of living, but the evidence is far from conclusive. Almost 40 percent of the villages were on, or close to, a sea, lake or river; 43 percent of the villages were in, or less than, 5 kilometers from a forest; 19 percent were located on a plain, 34 percent on hilly country and 46 percent were on mountainous terrain. We observed some differences in development between villages beside or close to a body of water (68 percent of the less developed villages are not on, or close to, a body of water, whereas 42 percent of the developed ones are). However, the moderately developed villages were unaffected by this factor.

The conclusiveness of rich resources of forestry to a high standard of living is suggested by the fact that 54 percent of the developed villages are located 5 kilometers or less from the forests, whereas 65 percent of the underdeveloped ones are more than 5 kilometers away.

The topographical position of the village is very important, for agricultural activities are easier on flat rather than mountainous land, when factors such as climate are constant. While only 25 percent of mountain villages were in the developed category, 44 percent of villages on the plain were developed.

There are two possible explanations for the absence of stronger relationships between village development and ecological favorableness. First, village economies must keep a balance between their micro-environment and their population. To the extent that the environment is advantageous for feeding additional mouths, the villagers will tend to have high fertility rates.[22] Increased population offsets the ecological advantages that could have made it possible to attain higher per capita standards of living.

The second explanation is the presence of monopolies within villages over natural resources. Better and more fertile pieces of land, such as flat areas in hilly country, are often owned by big and wealthy landowners. Some persons may assume control over streams and lakes, although in Turkey surface and subterranean

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[22] G. Helling makes this point op. cit.

water reserves belong to the State. Illegal control of water supplies nevertheless does occur, and has recently led to peasant upheavals.[23] When key environmental resources are in the hands of a few, their effectiveness in providing higher living standards is largely limited. This fact may very well account for the weak correlation between the level of development and the village's resource endowment.

E. Media Participation

Participation in the mass information network has been considered by some authors as one of the salient factors in the transformation of rural agricultural communities.[24] Our analysis showed that 12 percent of the villages had no radio and 19 percent of them received no newspapers. Six percent had one radio, 24 percent had two to four, 23 percent had five to nine and 34 percent had more than ten radios. The correlation between the number of radios in the community and the level of development is high enough (.30) to suggest some positive association of mass media participation with development, though the direction of causation could be the reverse.

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[23] John F. Kolars "Types of Rural Development" in Four Studies on the Economic Development of Turkey (ed.) by Frederic C. Shorter, London, Frank Cass and Company, 1967, pp. 63-89; Ozer Ozankaya, Koyde Toplumsal Yapı ve Siyasal Kultur (Social Structure and Political Culture in the Village), Ankara, Sevince Matbaasi, 1971; Cavit O. Tutengil, op. cit.; Ismail Besikci, Dogu Anadolunum Duzeni (Eastern Turkey), Istanbul, E. Yayinlari, 1969-

[24] Wilbur Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," in Lucien W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 30-58; Daniel Lerner, op. cit.; Everett M. Rogers, op. cit.

The same relationship holds for the availability of newspapers. More than 13 percent of the villages received the papers daily, 29 percent received them once a week, 27 percent every fortnight or less frequently. The correlation between frequency of newspaper arrivals and village development is .30. We cannot determine from the data, however, whether media participation promotes development or vice versa.

F. Organizational Tendencies

Local institutions and organizations can facilitate joint-payoff relationships. Such organizations contribute to the betterment of village life in three ways. First, they create additional streams of income that could not have been realized had the villagers not pooled their individual resources. Second, is the capacity of such institutions to enable the community to create job opportunities which provided income for the occupants of these jobs as well as benefiting the village as a whole. Third, village level institutions may work to pool financial aid and nonmonetary goods to be distributed to the poorest segment of the village population. We expect, therefore, that development should be greater where villagers are predisposed toward initiating and joining village level organizations, the efforts of which would be directed toward accomplishment of projects beneficial to members of the community.

We constructed an index of "organizational tendencies" which attempts to measure the extent to which villagers themselves are willing to take the initiative and assume responsibility

in projects providing joint-payoffs. The distribution of this scale over the sample confirms previous findings, based on local samples, that propensities toward organizational involvement at the local level are rather widespread in Turkish villages. Although the maximum actual score of 7.17 is considerably less than the maximum obtainable score, the average score is pretty close to the midpoint of the possible range. This suggests that none of the communities had extremely high propensities for involvement in local organizations. On the average, however, such tendencies are rather strong.

Because communities varied considerably in this regard, we broke the actual range down into three equal parts, categorizing communities as having low, moderate and high tendencies of organizational involvement. We expected to find a positive correlation between the scale of village development and the index of organizational tendencies. Indeed this was the case. Forty percent of developed villages were found to have a strong sense of organizational involvement, compared to only 10 percent of the underdeveloped villages. Almost 45 percent of communities with low organizational tendencies were in extreme poverty, and only 18 percent were developed. The Gamma correlation between organizational tendencies and development was .39. (See Figure 2).

What conditions increase the effectiveness of grassroots cooperative involvement in rural development efforts? The degree of inequality in the village socioeconomic structure was considered first. If utilizable resources are concentrated,

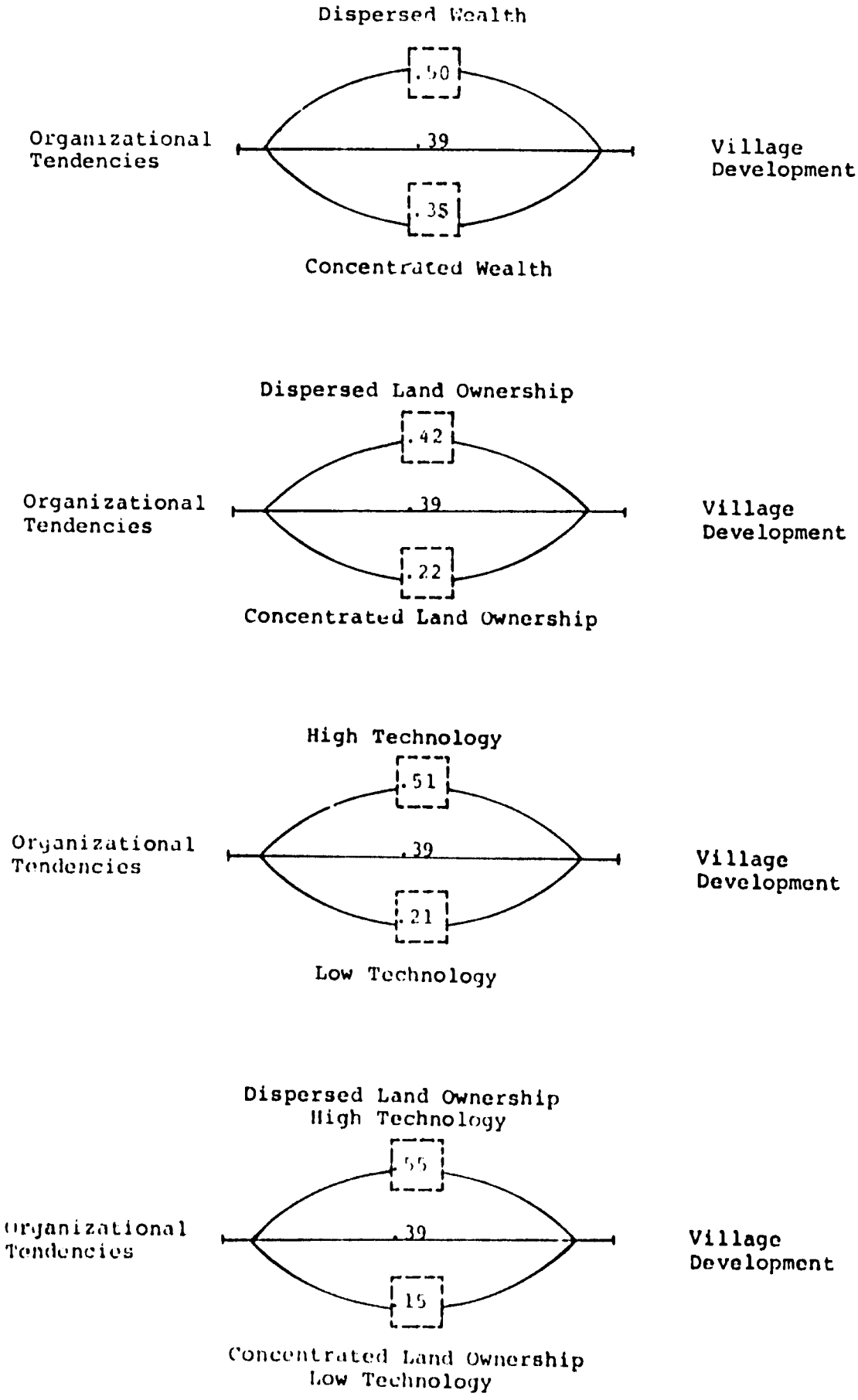
village-level organizations depend upon a few individuals for material and financial, as well as social and political support. When such dependency exists, the benefits of local organizations are likely to be less than equally distributed. The opposite case occurs when everyone contributed approximately the same amount to local endeavors. This is more likely if wealth and land are more equitably distributed.

If this is correct, then we should expect higher correlations between village development and the tendency of villagers to initiate and participate in local organizations where wealth and land distribution are more equal. Indeed our findings support this proposition. We looked first at the pattern of wealth. In villages in which a large number of respondents reported dispersed wealth, the correlation between the indices of organizational tendencies and village development was .50. This is stronger relationship than found in villages with concentrated wealth (.35). (See Figure 2). Analysis of the distribution of land reveals a similar pattern. In villages with dispersed landownership (most farmers own all the land they farm), the correlation between organizational tendencies and development was almost twice as strong as it was in villages with concentrated landownership (.43 and .22, respectively).

These findings vividly demonstrate the development deterrence of stratified land ownership and wealth. They support our contention that uneven distribution of resources in the community hampers rural organizational involvement from improving village standards of living.

FIGURE 2

GAMMA CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL TENDENCIES AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT



The second factor that may affect the relationship between the level of development and the level of organizational involvement is the state of agricultural technology of the village. Technological advances in agriculture involve the application of scientific and sophisticated knowledge and tools to increase production. The more advanced this technology is, the greater the effectiveness of the villagers in their efforts to master their environment and turn unexploited resources to their advantage. This general relationship holds true in local cooperative projects. When only human labor can be pooled and technology for higher productivity is not at hand, joint ventures are typically less frequent. More important, the demands on each participant are larger and involve higher opportunity costs. This leads us to expect stronger relationships between organizational tendencies and development in villages with advanced technologies than in communities with more primitive technology.

To test this relationship, we constructed an index of village technological development. The concept of technological development was operationalized as the presence or absence (as well as number) of tractors, tractor wagons, trucks, jeeps, and water pumps in the village. A summated scale was constructed by adding the number of each item. Using this index, we found empirical support for the proposition that advanced technology increases the effectiveness of local organization in stimulating development.

In the high technology communities, 60 percent of the villages with high organizational tendencies were developed,

whereas none of the low organizational tendencies villages were. At the opposite end of the scale, this contrast is less striking. Among the less technologically advanced communities, 46 percent of the more organized villages were developed and 19 percent were underdeveloped. Overall, in the high technology communities the correlation between organizational tendencies and village development was .51, compared to .21 in low technology villages. (See Figure 2).

These findings suggest that the most congenial conditions for raising living standards occur when the distribution of resources is not stratified and when the village has tools and equipment more advanced than the traditional wooden plow. The intervening roles of higher technology and relatively less stratified economic structure become more visible when we compare the relationship between village development and organizational tendencies in two groups of villages that simultaneously varied in economic structure and technological advancement. In the first group, technological development was high and land ownership was widely distributed; in the second group, technology was low and land concentrated among a few owners. The correlation between organizational tendencies and development was more than three times higher in the first group. (See Figure 2). The striking difference between these two groups of villages indicates that dispersed resources and modern technology make local organizations more effective in improving living standards.

G. Socioeconomic Stratification

It has been argued that socioeconomic stratification can be supportive for development. The greater the functional importance of certain positions involving skill or responsibility and the greater the scarcity of persons capable of filling them effectively, the greater must be the material rewards, wealth and other benefits accruing to these positions. Otherwise nobody will be motivated to perform these jobs that are more demanding than those of lesser importance. According to this view, unequal distribution of socially valued monetary and non-monetary rewards is required to insure that all of society's vital functions are performed effectively. Davis and Moore thus contend that "stratification is both positively functional and inevitable in any society."[25] Based on our analysis of exchange systems, however, we believe that social and economic inequality do not contribute to development. The data support this contention.

If the exchange system of the village is the defining characteristic of the economic structure, the major parameter of the economic structure is the degree of resource stratification. Land is a major resource, but differences in the ownership pattern of other resources such as money or agricultural machinery are also crucial determinants of the local economic structure and exchange system. Thus uneven land distribution may not be the most important factor impinging on rural

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[25] Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review, Vol. 10 (1945) p. 248.

development. To get a fuller picture of resource distribution in rural Turkey, we therefore considered ownerhsip of both land and wealth.

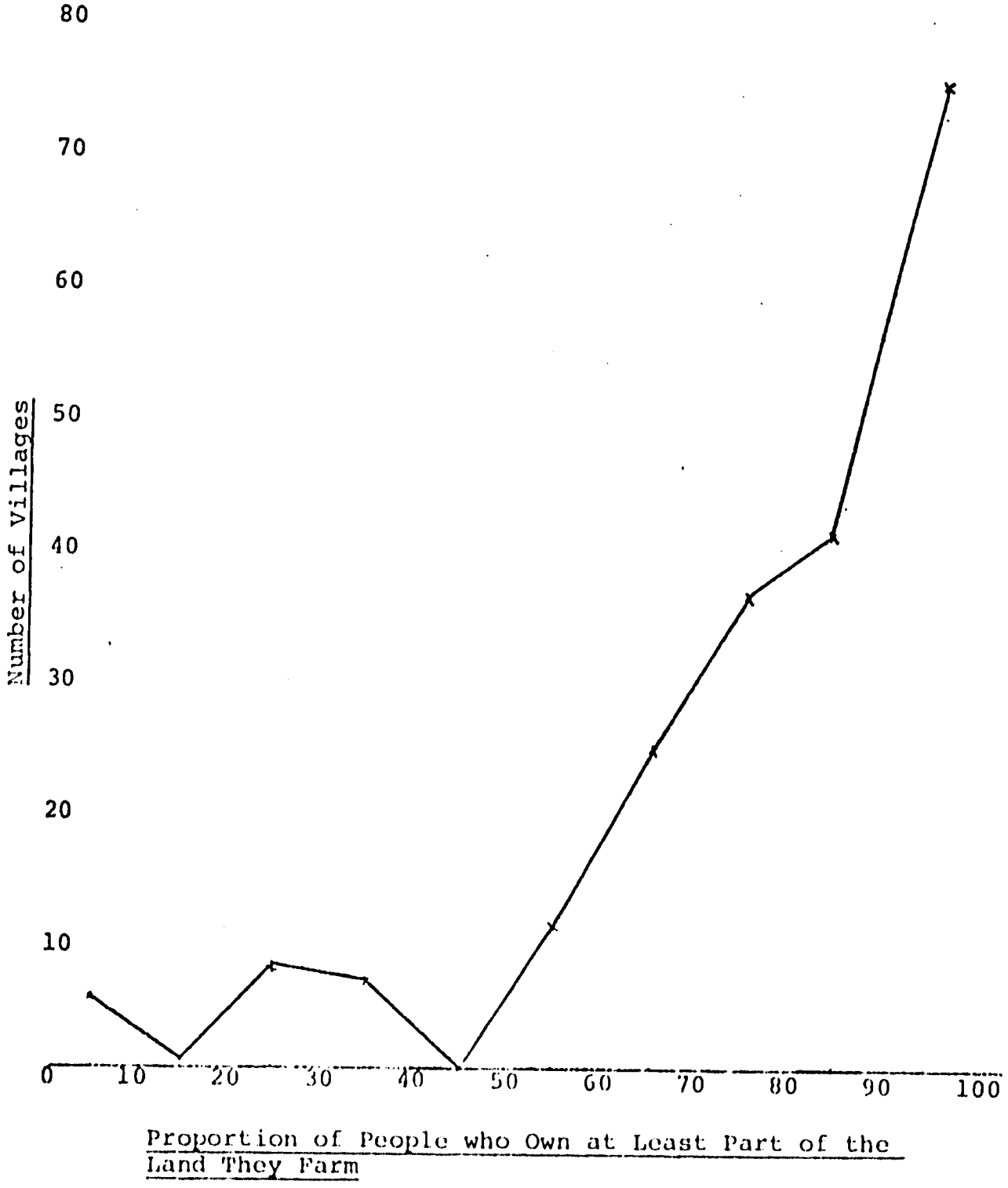
(1) Landownership

The villages in our sample varied immensely in the degree to which people owned all the land they farmed. In only 2 percent of the communities did all farmers own less land than they cultivated. In sharp contrast, 27 percent of the sample villages reported that almost all of the farmers (95 percent or more) did own the land they tilled. Between these polar types, sharp increases are found as one moves toward the high-ownership end of the index. (See Figure 3).

We hypothesized that there would be little or no positive relationship between the level of village development and the distribution of landownership. This is because landownership, taken by itself, is an imperfect indicator of overall resource distribution. We must also know the actual and potential productivity of the land owned. Unfortunately, the survey items did not include information on either the size or value of the farmers' fields. Thus in communities with dispersed landownership, farmlands may be excessively fragmented, precluding the use of some forms of advanced agricultural technology. Or the largest and most fertile pieces of land may be owned by one or a few landowners. While a large proportion of the rest of the farmers may own the land they farm, their holdings may not be big or productive enough to sustain adequate living standards. Unless dispersed landownership is accompanied by

Figure 3

LAND TENURE SITUATION IN VILLAGES



equality in other resources and wealth, or unless local institutions function to equalize resource differences, it will not lead to better opportunities for advancement in living standards of the community as a whole.

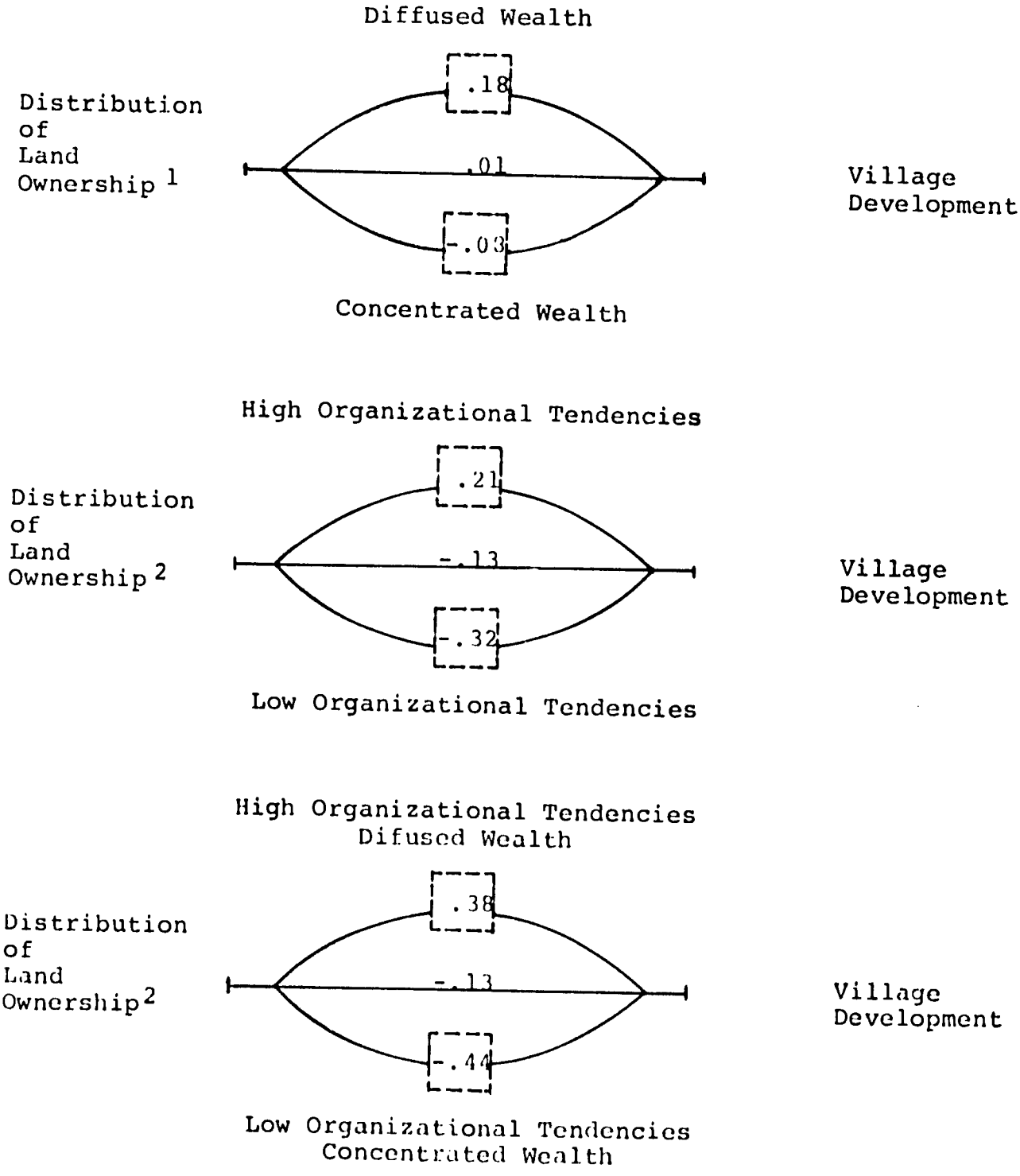
Our findings support this conclusion. We used two different measures of landownership. The first, based on the proportion of villagers reporting that they owned all the land they farmed, showed no relationship between the distribution of landownership and the level of development of the village. The second measure, based on key informants' estimation of the percentage of farmers owning their own land, revealed a low negative correlation between dispersed landownership and development. (See Figure 3).

Because landownership is only one indicator of the pattern of resource distribution, we treated the distribution of wealth as an intervening variable between landownership and development. We expected a higher correlation with development among villages with dispersed landownership and dispersed wealth, than among villages ranking low on these two measures. As shown in Figure 3, these expectations were validated by the data analysis.

We also expected to find positive association between the level of village development and dispersed land ownership in the communities where organizational tendencies are strong. Such tendencies seemed likely to lead to pooling of meager individual resources for projects to improve the productivity in smallholdings. In other words, in villages

FIGURE 4

GAMMA CORRELATIONS OF LANDOWNERSHIP AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT



1 Based on villagers' response to survey question about their land tenure status.

2 Based on key informants ranking of village in terms of villagers owning their own land. See Appendix.

where a large proportion of people own their own land, the level of living of farming families could be improved by the operation of village-level, joint pay-off projects.

The empirical data yielded mixed results. The correlation between dispersed land ownership (as measured by the proportion of people who reported owning all the land they farm) and level of village development was not, contrary to our expectations, positive, but negative in the villages with high organizational tendencies. However, the anticipated positive association was found between these two variables in the same villages, when the distribution of land ownership was measured by the key informants' ranking in terms of the percentage of people owning land. (Figure 2).

In summary, empirical investigation of the relationship between equality in land ownership and level of development generally supported our hypothesis. Dispersed land ownership is not necessarily indicative of resource equality, and does not facilitate development unless other resources (wealth) are also dispersed and/or the local population participates in community development organizations.

(2) Wealth

To examine empirically the deterrent effect of economic stratification for rural development, we explored the direct relationship between the distribution of wealth and the level of the village's development. To determine wealth distribution we asked villagers whether their village contained one or a few wealthy individuals. (See Appendix). In 8 percent

of the communities, equitable distribution of wealth was unanimously reported; only 1 percent of the villages were characterized by the presence of a single wealthy person. Between these extremes, wealth equality was reported in nearly equal frequencies as the ratio of persons who perceived no single wealthy person increased. In villages with concentrated wealth the dominant exchange type is negative, while in the less stratified villages the frequency of such exchanges may be reduced and other types increased. Negative economic exchanges mean actual and opportunity losses by the less well-off. Therefore, according to our hypothesis, the more concentrated the wealth of the village, the lower will be the standard of living of most villagers.

Results of our data analysis support this contention. While 47 percent of villages with equitable distribution of wealth were developed, only 23 percent were underdeveloped. A much lower proportion of villages with unequal wealth distribution were developed. The correlation between wealth equality and village development was .26. (See Figure 5).

Our findings clearly demonstrate the inaccuracy of the functionalist view of stratification for rural societies; rather, equally distributed wealth appears to enhance development, though the empirical correlation between the two indices is less than overwhelming. This could be attributed to varying conditions of land tenure systems, to the conversion of wealth in the form of technological advances, and also to the tradition of combining resources for the betterment of

all. To test these factors, they will be examined as contingencies impinging on the relationship between wealth equality and development.

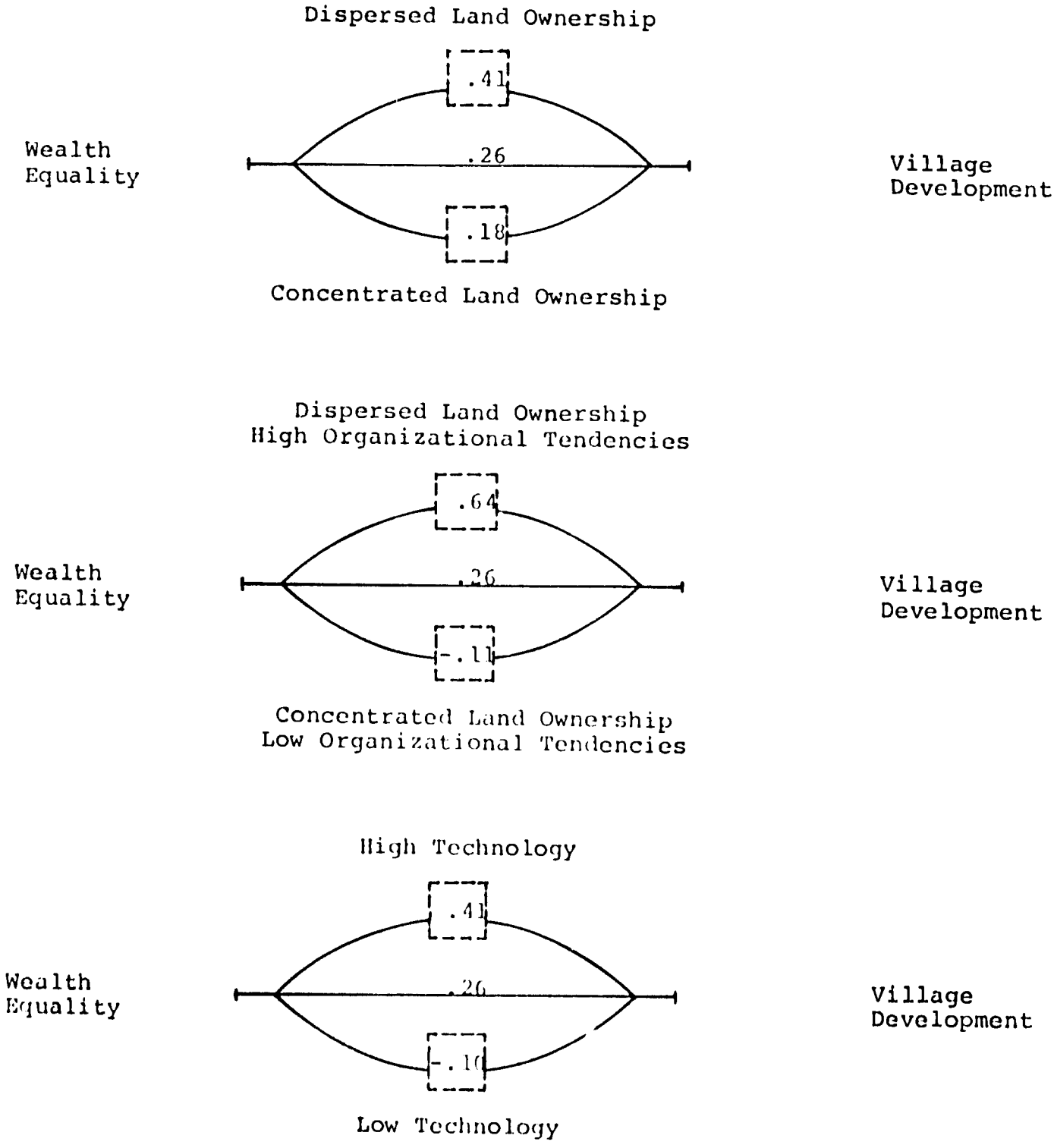
The first contingency is the extent of land ownership in the community. We have shown that this factor alone did not have any positive association with the level of development; but in less stratified villages it was supportive for improving standards of living. Here land ownership is treated as an intervening variable between wealth equality and village development. We investigated this relationship in two separate groups of villages, one with dispersed land ownership and the other with concentrated land ownership. In the first type, dispersed wealth should lead to greater than average increases in development. The influence of dispersed wealth should be smallest in the concentrated land ownership communities.

As shown in Figure 5, the data bear out these hypotheses. The correlation between equality in wealth distribution and level of village development is positive (.41) in dispersed land ownership communities. This relationship is more than twice as strong as the one in concentrated land ownership villages. Among dispersed land ownership villages, 48 percent of the communities with equally distributed wealth were developed, a much higher percentage than among concentrated land ownership villages.

We can also observe the omnipresent developmental role of community involvement in the positive influence of economic equality on living standards. Even when everyone owns some

FIGURE 5

GAMMA CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VILLAGE WEALTH EQUALITY AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT



resources, individuals are unlikely to have sufficient capital to make significant investments on their own. The only way to gather enough resources for development projects is to aggregate and then mobilize resources. As Figure 5 shows the correlation of wealth equality with village development is much higher (.64) in dispersed land ownership villages with a strong sense of organized involvement, than it is in low landownership, low organizational tendencies villages (-.11). None of the villages in the former category were underdeveloped while in the latter category no villages were among the most developed group.

These findings clearly demonstrate the direct developmental role of general wealth equality and the contingent positive effect of equality in land ownership. They also highlight the intervening role of village-level organizational involvement in bettering living standards.

We also had to examine improvements in agricultural equipment and techniques to see if they enhance the developmental function of resource equality. Because the average level of technology is low, it is highly likely that living standards could be significantly improved if at least some resources are reinvested in farm technology.

Equal-wealth villages stand a better chance to benefit from efficiency boosting methods, materials, tools and knowledge. This is clear when we contrast the level of development of equal-wealth villages that rank high in our scale of technology, as opposed to those that have not advanced in methods,

tools and equipment. Of the first group, 45 percent were developed, as compared to 18 percent in the second group. Among the higher technology villages, 69 percent of the developed villages had more equal distribution of wealth, compared to only 10 percent of the lower technology communities. The correlation between wealth equality and village development was .41 in high technology villages, but -.10 in low technology communities. (See Figure 5). These findings suggest that in the absence of wealth stratification, village standards of living can be significantly improved by directing some resources to promote technical advances.

H. Technology: Promise or Threat?

The replacement of human and animal energy with mechanical power in farming is a general indicator of technological development. Although this does not directly measure the degree to which modern methods and material are used, it can be assumed that the chances are much higher for villages equipped with farm machinery to have better information and farming inputs than those that have not advanced beyond the wooden plow.

In 61 percent of the villages, no basic farm mechanization devices existed. There was not a single tractor and its matching equipment, no water pumps, and no trucks or jeeps. Such communities are therefore categorized as "low technology villages." In the remaining 39 percent of villages, there was wide variance in the degree of technological advancement. The number of agricultural machines ranged from 1 to 28. The distribution of machinery showed that, excluding the lowest-level

villages, Turkish rural communities had an average of 6.7 farm implements. When villages with no farm machinery were included in the calculations, this pulls the mean number of machines down to 2.7. We broke the villages into three categories based on the number of machines. Technologically backward communities were defined as those with no farm machinery. Moderately advanced villages had 1 to 7 farm machines and highly advanced ones had 8 to 28.

According to this categorization more than half the villages are technologically backward. With pre-tractor technology, mechanical energy is not used and methods of farming are very primitive. Field studies of such settlements, both in Turkey and elsewhere, indicate the agro-economic activities are very likely to be geared to polyculture production while commercialization of agriculture is minimal.

At the other extreme, in about 12 percent of the Turkish villages, there is considerable technological advancement. These relatively high-technology communities use much more mechanical energy and are likely to make use of more sophisticated techniques and materials. Area and community studies suggest that these villages tend to produce a single crop for trade in the cash market. The middle category, villages with moderate technological development, contains one-fourth of all Turkish villages.

Technological development and agricultural development are often considered to be virtually synonomous. While it is true that technological advancements in farming lead to

productivity gains and production increases in most cases, there is no reason to assume that these gains are equally distributed within the village community. Severe stratification of land and wealth directs the benefits of advanced technology to the few who control most of the resources. In such cases technological development may decrease the economic opportunities of many poverty stricken people.

Technological modernization, however, need not have negative effects in all villages. Where wealth and resources are not concentrated, technology may raise general living standards by increasing productivity.

Village-level organized involvement plays a catalytic role in directing technological innovation to raising living standards. Where technology has led to agricultural proletarianization, landless workers may be able to secure better wages if they band together. In less stratified villages, group action can provide the village with agricultural implements which would be too expensive for individual farmers to acquire. The villagers can also use new technology more efficiently if they coordinate organized working schemes.

We found a positive correlation (.32) between technological advances and village development. (See Figure 6). While 45 percent of the high technology villages were developed, 17 percent were underdeveloped; and 40 percent of the low technology villages were developed, and only 27 percent were in the underdeveloped group.

Although our findings indicate that there is much to be gained from technological advances, our analytical framework

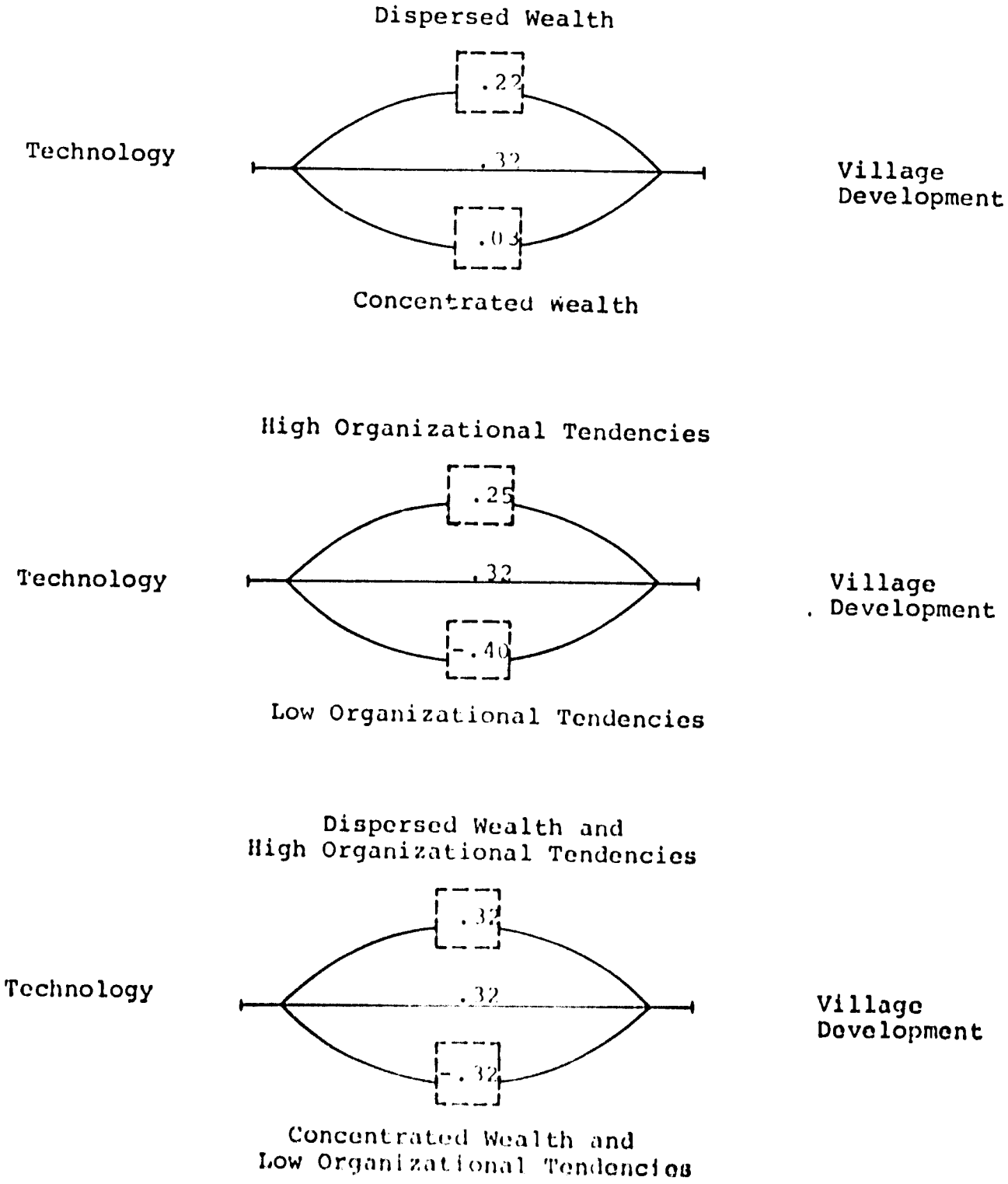
forces us to consider this relationship only as an average and encourages us to examine it in various socioeconomic structures. Technological advancement is functional for development only when the village is not highly stratified and when the tradition of local organized involvement is strong.

In villages with great disparities of wealth there was no systematic association between the level of technology and the level of development. Among these highly stratified villages, only one had both higher technology and a higher standard of living. In clear contrast, there was a significant positive correlation (.22) between technology and development in the villages characterized by a high level of economic equality. (See Figure 6). Among these more egalitarian villages, 56 percent were technologically advanced and developed, as opposed to only 13 percent in the underdeveloped category.

A similar but more pronounced difference is found in villages with varying organizational tendencies. There was a positive association between technological advancement and development in villages with high organizational tendencies, but a stronger, negative correlation between the two variables in the villages without such tendencies. (See Figure 6). Among the highly organized and technologically advanced villages, 60 percent were developed, and only 10 percent were underdeveloped. By contrast among less organized, high technology villages, none were found in the developed category whereas 67 percent were in the underdeveloped category.

FIGURE 6

GAMMA CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LEVEL OF VILLAGE TECHNOLOGY AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT



As shown in Figure 6, we found a positive correlation between technological modernization and levels of living in the villages with strong organization tendencies and dispersed land ownership. The opposite was true of villages with concentrated land ownership and low organized involvement. In these villages, technological development is negatively correlated with village development.

These findings confirm two arguments. First, rural social stratification hinders the amelioration of poverty through technological modernization. Structural inequalities divert the benefits from those masses who need them most to those who are already well-off. Thus, the ability of the majority of villagers to enjoy increased outputs of modernized agriculture is dependent on structural transformations before technological advancement. Second, where the local population is not organized, technological innovation may actually contribute to underdevelopment. The effectiveness of new agricultural technology can, however, be significantly increased if accompanied by local participation, which increases the collective goods and services produced by technology. It should be noted that widespread use of grass roots organizations to aid development through technological advancement is possible in a wide variety of political systems.[26]

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[26] Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw, Development Reconsidered: Bridging the Gap Between Government and People, New York, Praeger, 1972; Norman T. Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience, Ithaca, Rural Development Committee, 1974.

Chapter V

RELATED ISSUES: ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION

A. Attitudinal Modernity: Myth or Reality?

Comfortably cherished by many social scientists studying development is the idea that there is a phenomenon called "traditionalism", which is a peculiar constellation of interrelated values, beliefs and attitudes. This phenomenon presumably existed in pre-industrial communities, including of course rural villages. Redfield was one of the first to describe this phenomenon by contrasting it to what he called the urban (or modernized) worldview. The traditional-modern dichotomy has dominated the approaches of western social scientists toward development and social change.

Villagers became typecast as people with constricted personalities who are unmotivated to exploit economic opportunities and are passive, withdrawing, and unwilling to fight difficulties. They are typically described as being resigned to their fate and very slow to change their behavior patterns, limiting their interaction to a very small number of kinsmen and villagers because of their fear and consequent distrust of and hostility toward outsiders. They have intense envy and ill-will for the fellow villager, stemming from their

unrealistic assumption that the environment is insufficient to be exploited for enough rewards to go around.[27]

The logical conclusion drawn from the traditional-modern dichotomy, is that traditionalistic beliefs must be replaced by modern values, attitudes and beliefs. However, a rapidly growing body of literature indicates that traditionalism as viewed above cannot be generalized to all peasant communities. Focusing on fatalism, Kiray, for instance, reports that in the Turkish villages she studies, even the least modernized ones were marked by very few (about 3 percent) fatalistic individuals.[28] Ashford states that in Turkish villages, villagers were no more fatalistic than people in other parts of the world, including the United States.[29]

We argue that the social-psychological characteristics of villagers should be viewed as psychological adaptations to concrete and real conditions, rather than as artifacts of a primordial worldview. Although villagers posses the ability to make psychologically-appropriate adaptations to their

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[27]George Helling, The Turkish Village as a Social System, microfilm, Los Angeles, 1966; Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1953; David McClelland, The Achieving Society, Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1961; Hagen, 666 cit.; Edward Banfield, Moral Basis of a Backward Society, Glencoe, Free Press, 1958; and Oscar Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1963; A. R. Holmberg, as quoted by L. K. Williams, "Some Social Psychological Correlates of Systems with Dominance," George M. Foster, "Peasant Character and Personality," in Peasant Society, Potter, et al., eds., New York, Little Brown, 1967.

[28]Kiray and Hinderink, p. 209.

[29]Ashford, op. cit.

environment, they are not always able to alter behavior according to the demands of changing situations. Constraints on behaviorally-adaptive capacities are mainly due to conditions external to the villagers themselves. The willingness to interact with the environment effectively, to engage in productive activities to improve one's living conditions and to exert oneself fully is limited severely in stratified communities, where most villagers lack the productive assets needed to raise living standards. The high-dominance patterns that develop from clientelistic relationships are primarily responsible for feelings of powerlessness and external control. Thus, we should expect to find feelings of self-efficacy, along with other aspects of the so-called "syndrome of modernity," only in communities where stratification is not severe.

Tendencies to organize and pool productive energies and assets expand the resource base of the poor. Persons with a sense of efficacy and a non-fatalistic view of their environment can engage in projects and undertakings that will enhance their opportunities to improve their incomes and living standards. They can also express feelings of internal control in the form of self-assertion, increasing their resources through participating in cooperative organizations promoting broad-based development. Conversely, when participative tendencies are not strong and poor villagers have to tackle problems individually, their resources are seldom adequate to pull themselves out of poverty. Feelings of personal efficacy and the attitude that the individual can and does control his own fate (along with

other aspects of the "syndrome of modernity") are, therefore, functional only in villages where resources are not controlled by a few dominant villagers at the expense of the majority.

To test the relationship between attitudinal modernity and development, we examined the extent to which villagers have a feeling of personal efficacy, that is, a belief they have some control over their future. Although personal efficacy is only one component of village belief systems, we believe it can be used to make inferences about the whole system. Thus villages with many efficacious persons were considered to have widespread modern attitudes, while villages with many fatalistic persons were considered to be dominated by nonmodern or traditional attitudes.

In one-fourth of the villages, more than 80 percent of villagers thought that their future was determined by things over which they had no control; in 20 percent of the villages, more than half of the villagers believed that they could determine their future themselves. The distribution of villages is very wide, varying from villages in which all members were fatalists to communities where 88 percent of people believed they had control over their future.

We hypothesized that there would be no systematic, positive relationship between attitudinal modernity (as measured by the level of general personal efficacy) and village development. This hypothesis was empirically supported by our data. Only 37 percent of villages with more modern attitudes were developed and a not much lower percentage was underdeveloped.

As shown in Figure 7, the correlation between attitudinal modernity and village development was weak (.10).

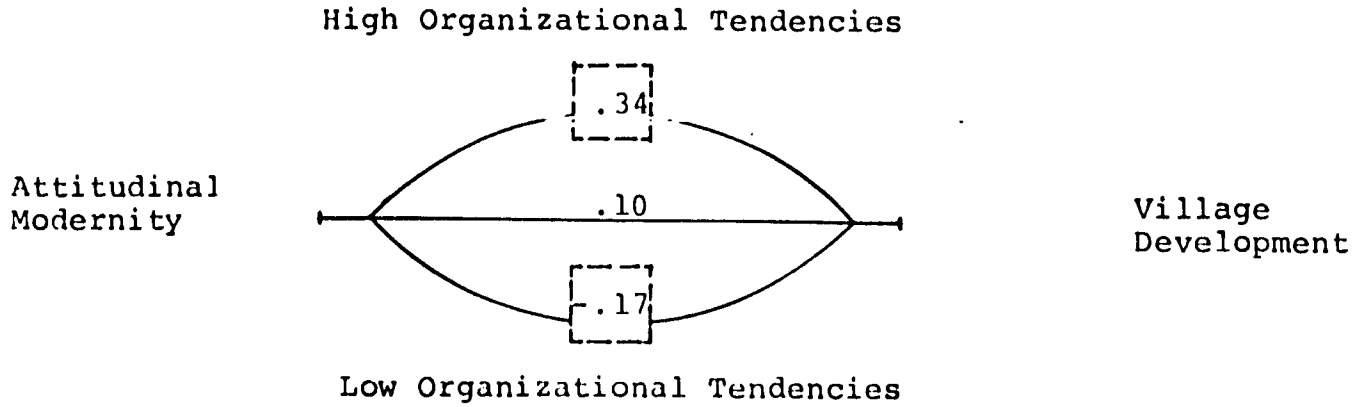
But we have also said that personal efficacy, like all components of the "syndrome of modernity," is a psychological adaptation appropriate only to certain circumstances. One of the relevant circumstances is the extent of local organization. Where organized involvement is pervasive, the villagers will see more examples illustrating that they can extract greater benefits from their environment if they exert themselves harder, instead of resigning themselves to their fate. We would expect, therefore, greater attitudinal modernity where organization tendencies are strong. To test this hypothesis we examined the relationship between the two variables.

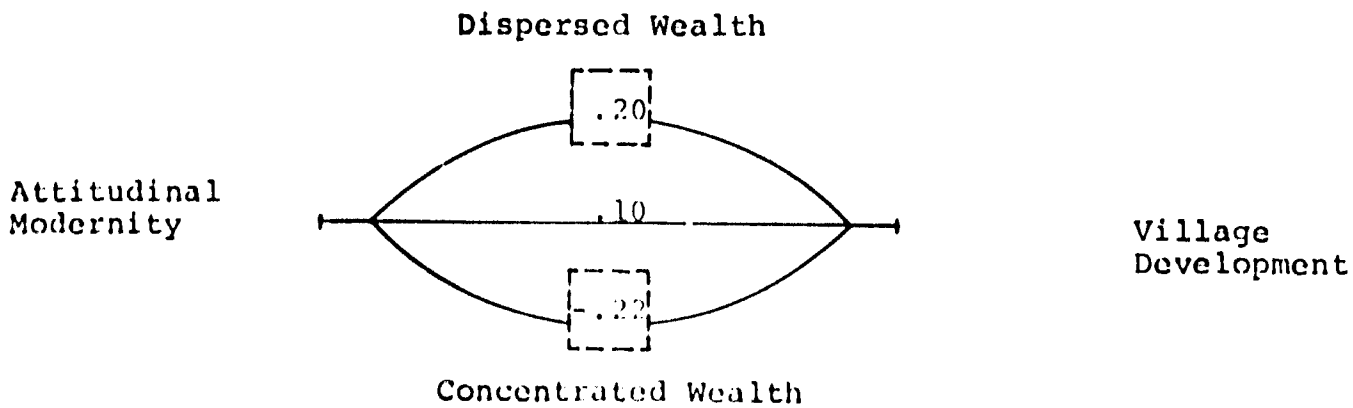
In all sample villages, 44 percent with strong organizational tendencies had a high proportion of people who felt personally efficacious, and only 16 percent had a high proportion of fatalist individuals. As figure 7 shows, we found the anticipated positive correlation between attitudinal modernity and level of development in communities ranking high on the scale of organizational tendencies.

The second relationship to be considered is the socioeconomic structure of the village. We hypothesized that feelings of personal efficacy are appropriate only when resource ownership and control is not highly concentrated. Where control is concentrated, feelings of powerlessness are actually an objective assessment of reality. On the other hand, if the socioeconomic structure is not so sharply stratified feelings

FIGURE 7

GAMMA CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ATTITUDINAL MODERNITY AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT





of efficacy can stimulate the villagers to strive harder to improve their levels of living.

We checked the above statements against our data by investigating the relationship between resource concentration and personal efficacy. Then we explored the relationship between these feelings and the level of development in less stratified villages.

Anticipated positive associations were observed in both cases. The level of reported personal efficacy increased as the proportion of people owning some land and of people reporting the absence of a single wealthy person increased. Over 86 percent of villages with a high proportion of persons reporting feelings of efficacy had dispersed land ownership, while only 13 percent of such villages had concentrated land ownership. A similar trend was observed with regard to wealth distribution, with 73 percent of the villages reporting high feelings of efficacy in the low wealth stratification group, but only 27 percent in the high stratification group. The hypothesized association between average personal efficacy and level of development in the dispersed-wealth villages was confirmed but was not strong. (Figure 8).

Thus we can conclude that both <u>more egalitarian social structures</u> and <u>higher levels of local organized involvement</u> create conditions where attitudinal modernity in general, and personal efficacy in particular, will facilitate rural transformation. In rigid and highly stratified socioeconomic structures, and among atomized individuals, feelings of internal

control and efficacy are not realistic and therefore not appropriate or beneficial psychological adaptations. Accordingly, such feelings were less frequently expressed by the villagers interviewed.

B. Education: Solution or Problem?

Some writers view education as an integral part of development itself, rather than an independent inducement to rural transformation. By formal education here we are almost exclusively referring to primary schooling, which is all that is available in the villages. In Turkey at the time the data were collected, the primary education system was modeled on the French system, which emphasizes general acculturation rather than specific skills. Formal schooling was seen as a very effective agent in changing traditional orientations to more modern ones, by teaching people basic skills which enabled them to understand and interact with their environment more effectively.

On the other hand, another view holds that the effectiveness of general education in improving living standards is very limited. The proponents of this view argue this because the contents of the school curriculum are not related to the concrete problems that villagers face every day. Unless the school provides the villagers with specific information and knowledge pertinent to their efforts to make a living, its developmental role will be severely weakened.

This author agrees basically with the second view of education. However, we do not believe that the emphasis should

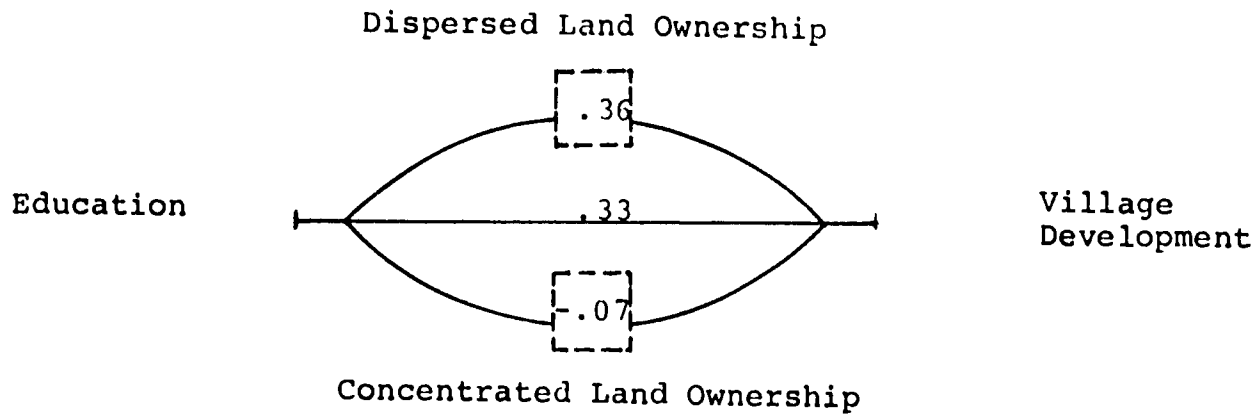
only be on the contents of school-taught knowledge, but also on the socioeconomic characteristics of the environment where the knowledge is used. We hypothesized that unless the socioeconomic structure is relatively unstratified and everyone has at least some land in the village, villagers will not be equipped with the most important means to improve their situation. Whether schooling has a positive effect, therefore, depends on whether the educated peasant has sufficient resources, notably land. Otherwise villagers will not be able to apply their increased knowledge to achieving a better standard of living. There may even be some adverse effects of education if most villagers do not own land, for when the expectations of villagers are heightened through schooling, landless villagers may be lured to urban centers. Consequently the village will lose some of its best manpower. To check these hypotheses, we analyzed the variance in education.

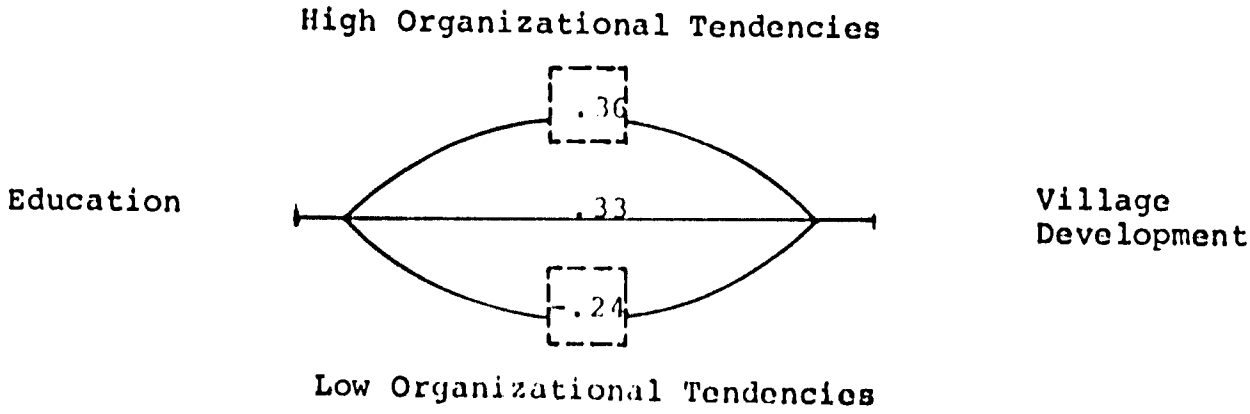
Only about one-fourth of the people interviewed report having attended school. Consequently, illiteracy is pervasive in rural Turkey. In nearly 15 percent of the villages, more than 90 percent of villagers were illiterate. In nine out of ten communities, at least half of the villagers could not read or write.

A stronger relationship was found between the level of education and development in villages where land ownership is not highly concentrated. More than half of the dispersed land-ownership communities with high schooling rates had high levels of living. The communities where land is not equitably

FIGURE 8

GAMMA CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT





distributed constitute a clear contrast, with negative correlations between schooling and development. (See Figure 8). These findings suggest that villagers' ability to improve their standards of living via better education is significantly hindered by concentration of land ownership.

We expected that the positive influence of education on development in small rural communities would be much stronger where there were established traditions of organizing and participating in community projects. Such projects enable the villagers to use whatever they may have learned in school for producing more and better goods and services. The data support our hypothesis. As shown in Figure 8, education was a stronger determinant of development in the communities where organizational tendencies are strong (Gamma = .36).

In conclusion, our findings indicate that education can enhance development significantly if structural changes are made to lessen the degree of stratification in villages and if villagers initiate, feel responsible for and participate in village-level organized projects.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

The subjects of this study were villages instead of villagers. Analyzing the data at the community level has offset the dangers of reductionist fallacies. We could identify structural characteristics that encourage development, as well as those that lead to vicious cycles of poverty. Had we stayed at the individual level, it would not have been possible to specify what socioeconomic structures were promoting or hindering improvements in village living standards.

The results unequivocally indicate the direct and indirect positive influence of organization propensities and activities on the development of small rural communities. Under the economic, social, political and cultural conditions found in rural Turkey, the more egalitarian and less stratified the village socioeconomic structure is, the greater are the chances for a broad-based development process. Moreover, more advanced levels of technological development, higher rates of literacy and education, and modernized attitudes and value systems may only be developmentally functional in villages where high dominance systems and negative exchange do not operate. Otherwise, the sharp stratification of socioeconomic organization severely limits development.

Involvement in village-level organizations was also found to be very influential in promoting improvements in welfare. This factor also plays an extremely critical intermediary role in relationships between development and technology, educational advancement and attitudinal modernity. The latter factors are much more productive where propensities to participate in village organizations are higher. This indicates, among other things, that the "active society" need not be a futuristic projection for the post-industrial states, as in Etzioni's thinking,[30] but is necessary for pre-industrial agrarian societies to break out of poverty.

Broad-based rural development in the situation examined here depends largely on the enrichment of the resource base of the rural masses and on well-organized, efficient and productive use of these resources through active and egalitarian participation of all groups in the countryside. Therefore, national governments that wish to attack the problem of rural poverty, and are dynamic and foresighted enough to do something about it, may very well start by enhancing resources of peasant groups, hence undermining the operation of high dominance systems in the villages. Severely stratified social structures in the countryside must be transformed into more egalitarian communities. Promoting grassroots organizations in the villages is essential to this goal. Otherwise, investments in infrastructural projects such as feeder roads and schools (two of the

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[30] Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society, New York, The Free Press, 1968.

most common governmental investments in Turkey for rural development), as well as transformation of peasant attitudes, will not eliminate rural poverty.

What is being suggested here is not simple redistribution of the type embodied in many simplistic proposals for land reform. While redistribution measures may be needed for rural development, the experience in Turkey and elsewhere indicates that such policies alone are not long-term solutions to agrarian problems. Thus, for instance, land reform, if not coupled with sharing of other resources and with cooperative ways of farming, tends to lead to dwarf farms, incapable of producing enough to insure self-sufficiency.

The benefits to be gained through participatory organizations depend on filling an institutional gap: the mechanics need to be researched very carefully. For example, what type and size of village organizations are most efficient, both from the point of view of insuring smoothly working arrangements and increasing their productivity? How could villagers be encouraged to take part in such organizations? What should be the next level of institutional hierarchy functioning as liaison between national and provincial governments and village organizations? How should these intermediary organizations be structured? What may be needed in the way of reorganizing government agencies and other organizations, as well as the connections among them, to facilitate the functioning of rural organizations? These are only a few of the questions to which behavioral scientists, and students of organizational behavior

in particular, should try to find answers. Unless such research is undertaken, we will be ignoring the plight of most of the human race.

Appendix

SURVEY DATA AND ANALYSIS

The basic interview schedule for villagers included questions to obtain general information about the respondents (age, sex, marital status, occupation, education, health, etc.); the extent to which they are exposed to mass media and and have extravillage contacts; attitudes towards social services that are needed or available; the subjective rating of these services, plus questions about what can be done about such things under whose leadership; and what, if any, role the local villagers should perform in providing services. Also included were items on attitudes towards the educational system, self-reports on poverty and penury, as well as social structure; the respondents' views on socialization processes in general and socialization techniques, agents and environments in particular. A rather lengthy section was devoted to questions about the basic values and personality of the respondent.

A scale of village development was built on the basis of responses to the following interview items:

1. In the past year, did your family ever go hungry for a period of several days?

2. In the past year, did your family ever run out of fuel?

3. In the past year, did your family ever run out of clothing?

4. What was the condition of your health?

5. What is the most important problem facing your village today?

The following items concerned organizational tendencies:

1. If the sub-province prefect or district administrator recommended working on this project, would you be more or less willing to participate?

2. If a government specialist in such matters recommended your working on this project, would you be more or less willing to participate than before?

3. Now let us discuss several projects. The first project is building or improving the roads of the village. Do you think that this job is mainly the duty of the government, the villagers themselves, or both the government and the villagers working together?

4. The next project I want you to think about is providing the village with good drinking water. How do you feel about this job? Is it one that should be done by government, by villagers themselves, or by both the government and villagers jointly?

5. What about building a new school? Who should be mainly responsible for this sort of project?

6. All right, now what about organizing a cooperative? If it is desired to form one for the villagers, is this mainly the responsibility of the government, the villagers, or the joint responsibility of both?

7. As a last case, what about the houses of the villagers? Do you think this is mainly the responsibility of the government, the villagers, or both?

The presence or absence, as well as the number, or agricultural implements was recorded by the head of the interview team in consultation with key informants. Machines included tractors, tractor wagons, trucks, jeeps, and water pumps. This information was used to measure technological development.

Interview items regarding education were:

1. Can you read and write; for example, can you write a letter.

2. Have you ever attended school?

Independent information about the educational situation in each village was gathered from village reports on whether a teacher works in the village, and whether the village has a primary school.

The degree of wealth stratification was measured by averaging the responses of villagers to the following question: In your village, is there just one wealthy person, a few wealthy people, or is everyone just about the same in wealth and no one much wealthier than the rest?

In addition to this overall measure of economic resource equality, the distribution of landownership, which is of pivotal importance, was also characterized. Each individual in the sample was asked: Do you own all the land you farm, part of

the land you farm, or are you a tenant-farmer or an agricultural laborer?

Information about land tenure systems was augmented by independent rankings of the villages according to the following categories:

What percentage of villagers own their own land?

1. None
2. Less than 10 percent
3. 10-24 percent
4. 25-49 percent
5. 50-74 percent
6. 75-90 percent
7. More than 90 percent

In addition, information related to land tenure was gathered by recording the number of big landowners and percentage of villagers who work on someone else's land.

Finally the sense of personal efficacy was assessed through the following question:

Do you expect your future to be:

1. Determined largely by what you, yourself, make of it?
2. Determined largely by things over which you have little or no control?

The determination of which sets of variables to include in this study resulted from a continual interplay between our reading of the previous writings of researchers bearing on the subject and the empirical realities revealed during

preliminary analysis of the data. To be sure, the selection of variables was bounded by the data collected by other researchers and made available to us. But within these boundaries there were a considerable number of decisions made about just what was worth studying in understanding the phenomenon of development in small rural Turkish communities.

After the selection of relevant concepts and constructs was completed, operational definitions had to be provided to render them measurable. This was done basically in two ways. First was the use of the aggregated responses to individual interview items and/or individual items in the village information sheet (on which global information about the village was recorded) as the measure of the concepts. In many cases, this approach leaves a good deal to be desired in the accuracy and reliability of the operational definition. Therefore a minimal use of this way of operationalization was sought. Single item measurements were only made when there was clear failure in the attempts to combine items in theoretically meaningful scales that passed stringent tests of statistical internal reliability. Even when such scales could not be formed and the use of single item indicators was inevitable, attempts were made to use more than one item individually, to increase reliability when possible.

The second method of operationalization was to construct summated scales made up of items selected initially among those with high face validity, through the use of various methodological conventions. The purpose of building these scales instead of using the items individually was to increase the validity

and reliability of our measurements. With the use of summated scales, the validity of the individual items can be pooled, so to speak, in the index; and the internal reliability of the scales could be estimated.

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